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ESTABLISHED 1887

A Cold Question as Revolution's Fires Die Down For Romanians, It's How Does Democracy Work?

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service
BUCHAREST — In Palace Square, where the worst of the fighting had taken place, the people came slowly across the cobblestones, huddled against the cold, as if a long hibernation had just ended.

They brought small children and stopped by small shrines of candles and poems on the sidewalk, where their martyrs had fallen.

They gazed at the scars of gunfire and took photographs as if to prove that it had all really happened, that they had been there in those heady times when Nicolae Ceausescu was overthrown.

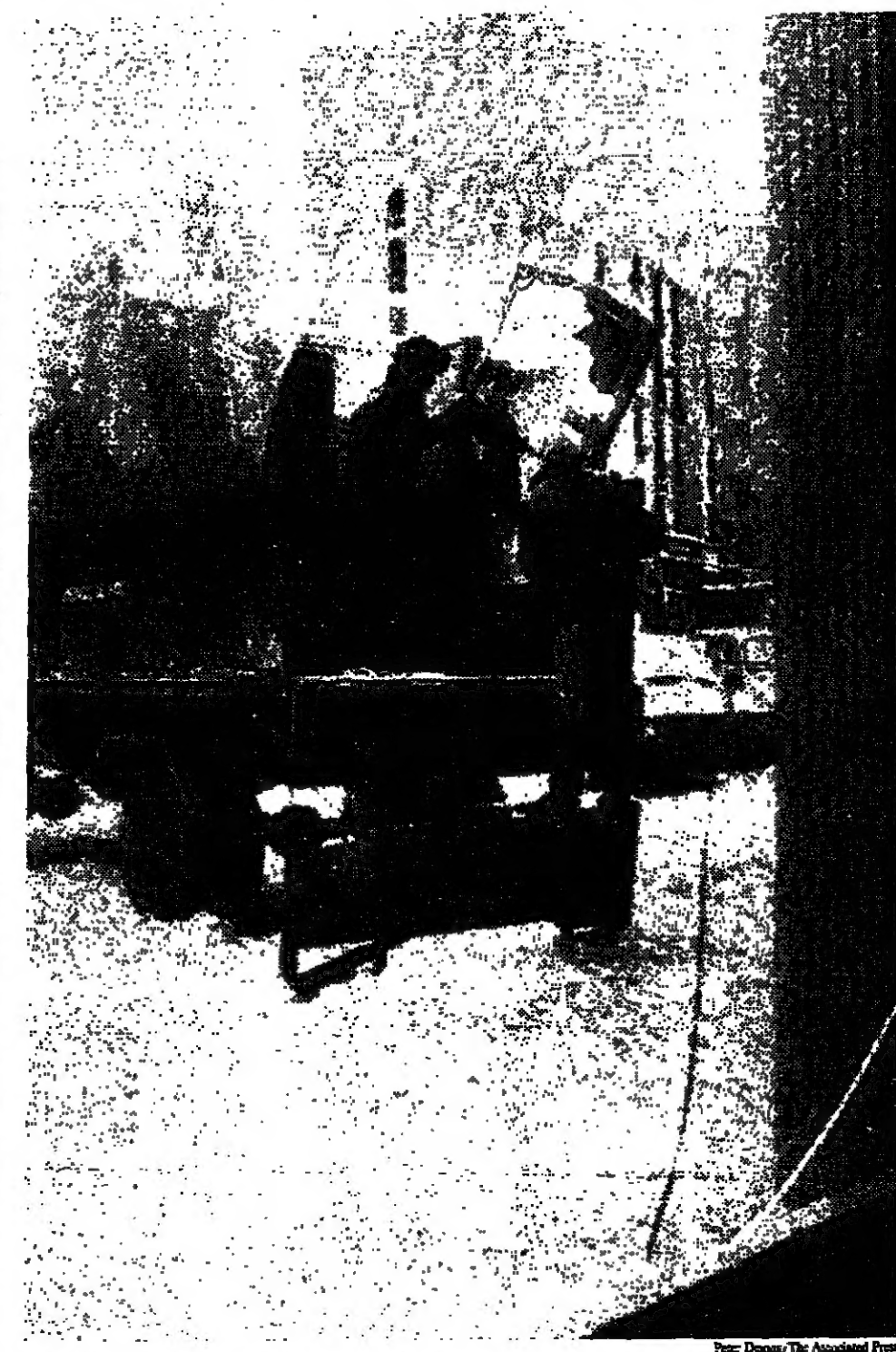
And then, they turned in conversations with a reporter to the question that has haunted many since the most bloody of Eastern Europe's anti-Communist revolutions: Where do we go from here?

"We do not know what to do with our freedom," said Nicoleta Tudor, 31, an artist who was in Palace Square during the disaster that engulfed Mr. Ceausescu on Dec. 21.

"After all these years," said Mikhail Georgescu, an agricultural scientist, "we do not know how democracy works."

How will a political opposition be run when desks and typewriters and funds and telephones are scarce? And how will people emerge from the mental shadow of a regime that denied free thought and taught dependence on the big brother of Communist rule for every benediction?

There is debate too about the representativeness of the National Salvation Committee that took over from Mr. Ceausescu and channeled the revolution, promising democracy, but is backed by



A bullet-smashed mirror being loaded in Bucharest on Wednesday as the cleanup continued.

Coup Had Tacit Soviet Support, Romanian Says

London — The Soviet Union tacitly agreed to support the overthrow of President Nicolae Ceausescu weeks before the Romanian leader was toppled, a leading member of the ruling National Salvation Committee said Wednesday.

Silvin Brucan, a member of the committee's executive board, said on Britain's Channel Four television that he won a reluctant promise of support from senior Soviet officials during a visit to Moscow in November.

Mr. Brucan described the revolution as a spontaneous "mass explosion" without a political leadership. He said committee leaders

did not hold their first meeting until the uprising was in progress.

Mr. Brucan laughed when asked whether Moscow had pledged its support in the event of Mr. Ceausescu's downfall.

"It was a promise of support, but a very reluctant one," he said. "It was already forced on Moscow — the new thinking, the new policy of noninterference, particularly in the affairs of East European countries."

Mr. Brucan, a former Romanian ambassador to the United States and the UN, did not identify the Soviet officials he met, but he said he had met President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Mr. Brucan insisted that the uprising was unplanned.

"The truth is that the mass explosion that took place on Friday, Dec. 22, in Bucharest was 100 percent spontaneous, without a political leadership," he said.

Prior Knowledge of Plot

Joseph Fitch of the International Herald Tribune reported earlier from Paris:

Some Western governments and the Soviet Union were in contact with disaffected Communists who were planning to overthrow Mr. Ceausescu — or preparing to take control after his demise — for at least six months before the

Lithuania's Nerve: Test for Gorbachev

By David Remnick
Washington Post Service
MOSCOW — In the tiny Soviet republic of Lithuania, where the independence movement's clashes with Moscow sometimes seem like a living re-enactment of "The Mouse That Roared," even the official television station treats President Mikhail S. Gorbachev with equal measures of calm and gall.

On New Year's Eve, the popular television program "The Mirror" mocked Mr. Gorbachev's attacks on the Lithuanian independence drive by staging an irreverent political puppet show with wooden, jiggling miniatures of Mr. Gorbachev and two of his Kremlin predecessors, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Stalin.

Mr. Gorbachev, who has sharply criticized secessionists in the republic, will visit Lithuania shortly to try to persuade the local Communist Party to maintain its links with Moscow.

In the television show, the Gorbachev puppet sympathized not with the Lithuanian leadership but rather with the few Communists at a recent party meeting who voted against severing ties with the Kremlin.

"There was one moment when the Gorbachev puppet asked the Stalin puppet for advice," said Arvydas Juozaitis, a leader of the independence movement Sajudis, "and Stalin said, 'You idiot!' — meaning this was no time for compromise, just attack."

"Our Communist Party leader was scheduled to appear after the puppets," Mr. Juozaitis added, "but he canceled rather abruptly."

With its extraordinary nerve and calm determination, Lithuania is pushing forward the bounds of the politically possible, taxing the limits of Mr. Gorbachev's patience and serving as a model for popular movements in the other 14 Soviet republics.

"Central Asia is known as the most conservative part of the country," said Abdul Aziz Makhmudov, a leader of Uzbekistan's largest independent movement, Bektik, "and that is an accurate assessment, but even here we are closely following the Lithuanian example."

"Although the Communist Party apparatus is fighting us every step of the way," he said, "trying to

Soviets Move to Quell Riot

Azerbaijani Mobs Expand Attacks Along Iran Border

By Francis X. Clines
New York Times Service
MOSCOW — The Soviet government reinforced its troop placements along the Iranian border on Wednesday in the face of continuing reports of destructive protests by Azerbaijanis demanding an open border.

Soviet officials said crowds of thousands of people had disrupted alarm systems and destroyed guard towers and wire fencing along miles of the border, demanding that ancient cultural and political ties between the Azerbaijan Republic and northern Iran be restored.

Most of the government reports of violence and protest, in which no deaths and no exchange of gunfire have been reported, centered on the autonomous republic of Nakhichevan, an Azerbaijan region that shares with Iran 165 kilometers (100 miles) of common border area. The region is closed to Western reporters.

According to accounts in the government newspaper Izvestia, a group identified as the Nakhichevan Popular Front began holding protest rallies at the border a month ago, demanding union with neighboring "southern Azerbaijan," which is now a part of Iran's own Azerbaijan Province in the northwest corner of the nation.

Various such popular front protest groups have blossomed in the Soviet Union in long-disputed border regions under the more liberal policies of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev. The groups often revive historic pursuits of ethnic and nationalist identities, as in the case of the Azerbaijan protest, according to Soviet news accounts.

The Azerbaijan protesters issued an "ultimatum" in mid-December that Soviet authorities dismantle border crossing blockades by Dec. 31, according to Izvestia.

Soviet news reports said that "extremist" leaders were unsatisfied with an offer by the authorities of such "concessions" as limited open crossings to visit relatives' graves in Iranian cemeteries in border towns.

On the morning of Dec. 31, the Popular Front massed 4,000 people who began ripping out border posts and fences, according to Izvestia, which said the disturbances continued into Wednesday.

The border region was the scene of high international tension four decades ago, with the Iranian government appealing to the United Nations and a Soviet-supported Communist "popular" government eventually retreating from Iran's Azerbaijan Province.

Iranian border authorities, alarmed at the current protests, have called on Soviet border officials to maintain order. After decades of enmity, diplomatic relations between Moscow and Tehran improved last summer when an Iranian mission to the Kremlin signed agreements for economic development, including the reopening of rail and oil pipeline connections.

The Soviet Union has about 800 kilometers of border with Iran, and Izvestia reported that "a complex situation has emerged" with protests reported at times along much of the entire border.

The only immediate comment from the Kremlin was offered by Gennadi I. Gerasimov, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, who said that he had little information to offer but that "some extremists believe there is no need for a border between the Soviet Union and Iran."

Initial accounts on Tuesday carried by the Soviet press agency Tass had said protest leaders were "high on drugs or alcohol." But the later accounts in Izvestia made no such reference and reported instead that political protest by the Nakhichevan

East German Talks Split By Communist Moves

By Marc Fisher
Washington Post Service
BONN — Delicate talks between the East German opposition and the caretaker Communist government split sharply on Wednesday, threatening the scheduled May elections and revealing a Communist move to reconstruct the security apparatus it had just dissolved.

The eight opposition groups that have been attending roundtable talks aimed at creating a more democratic system said they would pull out unless Prime Minister Hans Modrow provides a report by Monday on his moves to create a new internal security force and an external intelligence agency.

Both the Stasi, the revived secret police, and East Germany's huge network of foreign spies were supposed to have been disbanded in December as part of the government's concessions to demonstrators and opposition demands.

Stasi offices around the country have been closed for weeks and are to be turned into health centers and other offices, the government said.

But at the talks on Wednesday, opposition leaders said they had learned that the government had begun to re-establish a security agency. The opposition demanded that no such offices be created until after the elections.

The largest opposition group, New Forum, said the talks had become nothing more than an attempt by the Communists to mollify their potential opponents.

Speaking for all opposition groups, Wolfgang Schnur, chairman of the Democratic Awakening Party, said the government's efforts to construct a new security apparatus "must cease." He said the opposition insisted that Mr. Modrow provide proof by Monday that all weapons previously held by the Stasi have been taken from them.

All of the Stasi's guns are already "sealed away," State Secretary Walter Halbritter said. And Wolfgang Berghofer, deputy chairman of the Communist Party, said the opposition would receive the report on security promptly, adding that he agreed that "the theme of security is no minor matter."

Mr. Modrow threatened on Tuesday to cancel the elections, which would be East Germany's first free vote in its 40-year history, unless the opposition stops bickering over procedure.

But opposition leaders and Western diplomats said Mr. Modrow and the Communists appeared to be backing away from the roundtable talks as part of their effort to remain the only credible political party available to voters.

Despite consistent polls through the fall showing that the Communists could not hope to win more than 10 percent of the vote in East Germany, a West German poll made public this week showed the

Klosk
East Germans In Protest Rally
BERLIN (Reuters) — More than 250,000 East Germans attended an anti-fascist rally on Wednesday to protest against neo-Nazi attacks on monuments and graves in the last week, the press agency ADN said.

The crowd brought candles, flags and banners to the gathering at East Berlin's Soviet war memorial, which was found smeared with extremist slogans a week ago.

The Communist Party leader, Gregor Gysi, told the rally, "Right-wing extremists pose a danger for East Germany which we must stamp out to avoid threatening our path to democracy."

The Soviet H-Bomb: Spy's Role Revised

By William J. Broad
New York Times Service
NEW YORK — Nuclear experts have concluded that the Soviet Union learned almost nothing of how to make the hydrogen bomb from the atom spy Klaus Fuchs and may instead have deduced the crucial secret by analyzing radioactive fallout from U.S. nuclear blasts.

The experts say they now believe that Mr. Fuchs, then a British citizen, passed along hydrogen bomb data that he was unaware were seriously flawed.

These experts, in their historical revision, attribute much of the faulty data to early work by Edward Teller and also diminish his role in the invention of the weapon.

Two of three critical ideas for the invention grew out of the work of Stanislaw M. Ulam, a mathematician who played a major role at the Los Alamos Laboratory in New Mexico, experts now say.

Mr. Teller, a physicist at Los Alamos who is often called the "father" of the hydrogen bomb, added a third idea that insured the invention's success.

The major revision in the history of the hydrogen bomb is the work of various scholars, largely working independently of one another.

Two nuclear experts, Daniel Hirsch and William G. Mathews, write about Mr. Fuchs and the fallout question in the January issue of The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

Thomas B. Cochran and Robert S. Norris, authors of "The Nuclear Weapons Databook," and Chuck Hansen, author of "U.S. Nuclear

For Many Immigrant Workers, Japan Is the Land of Rising Prejudice

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service
KAWAGUCHI, Japan — The mayor of this drab factory town north of Tokyo is upset that some people viewed recent statements of his as racist, especially his comment that with so many dark-skinned foreigners in town, Japanese were having trouble seeing them at night.

"I am a big defender of the rights of foreigners," the mayor, Yoji Nagase, said in an interview recently. "I only meant my comments as a kind of joke. We in Japan must open our doors to immigrants and give them proper training and education."

But the Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and other foreigners who work in Kawaguchi, almost all of them in violation of Japan's immigration laws, are not laughing at the mayor's comments or at other developments seen as a threat to the well-being of immigrants in Japan.

"We are hated because we are from a poor country," said a 19-year-old Pakistani named Abdul. "Our poverty is hated, and our skin color is only one factor. But I would like to ask that mayor how the Japanese would feel about their

General News
High winds were pushing a huge oil spill toward the Moroccan coast. Page 5.

Science
The dangers of draconian weight-loss programs in Belgium. Page 7.

Business/Finance
Stock prices soared around the world, buoyed by Wall Street's strength. Page 9.

North Sea oil prices reached a four-year record. Page 9.

Crossword Page 7.

Dow Jones
2,809.73
Down 0.42

The Dollar
DM 1.7225
Pound 1.6102
Yen 145.235
FF 5.8815

In a First, a Female Captain Leads U.S. Troops Into Battle

By Wilson Ring

Washington Post Service

PANAMA CITY — A female captain led a platoon into battle during the U.S. invasion of Panama in December, the first time that a woman has taken such a combat role for the U.S. military.

Captain Linda L. Bray's mission, as commander of the army's 988th Military Police Company, was to lead one of her platoons in an effort to neutralize a National Defense Forces attack-dog kennel on the edge of Panama City. Besides attack dogs, the kennel area turned out to house heavily armed Panamanian troops.

In a three-hour battle, Captain Bray's troops captured the target after killing three Panamanian soldiers and seizing weapons, according to Captain Bray and several of her 30 troops.

Although she was the only female officer actually to lead an attack during the invasion, 600 women took part in the engagement.

Three enlisted women from another of the four platoons in Captain Bray's company played a key role in the infantry attack on the Comandancia, the headquarters of General Manuel Antonio Noriega. That assault produced some of the heaviest fighting in the invasion.

Still, the bulk of the fighting was done by the traditional combat units, the infantry, armor and artillery, which by law do not contain female combatants. There were no reports of women being among the 23 killed or 323 wounded.

The Defense Department's policy mandates that women accompany their support units, whatever the assignment. Captain Bray's company was sent to Panama from Fort Benning, Georgia, on a regular rotation a week before the movement into Panama was launched.

"Before this all started," Captain Bray said, "I had always wondered what would happen." She said she was now convinced

that there was no difference between male and female soldiers.

"They worked together as a team, all my soldiers," she said.

Captain Bray said that for all the distinction between combat and support units, with about 11 percent of the military made up of women it was probably inevitable that some would see combat when U.S. forces went into battle.

"For whatever reason, the MPs are in a combat support role," she said. "I hope this makes a statement. It used to be that just because you were a female you would not be able to fight. That is no longer true."

Asked if she felt that the Panama experience might cause the regulations about women in combat to be tightened, Captain Bray said: "I hope it doesn't happen. Any female soldier in Panama, or any male for that matter, will tell you they hope not."

Captain Bray, 29, is a native of Buckner, North Carolina, and a 1982 ROTC graduate

of Western Carolina University. She took command of her 123-member company last summer.

For the attack on the kennel, Captain Bray had about 30 soldiers armed with machine guns, grenade launchers and the soldiers' personal weapons.

Captain Bray said a bulldozing was used to tell the Defense Forces soldiers in the kennel to surrender, but they refused. "I ordered a warning shot," she said. "Nothing happened."

After the warnings were ignored, Captain Bray's soldiers opened fire and the Panamanian troops returned it. The platoon spent about three hours securing the building, Captain Bray said. She refused to talk about enemy dead, but her troops said that the next morning three dead Panamanians were found inside the kennel. Several of the attack dogs were also killed in the battle.

The attack was only part of the mission assigned Captain Bray's company. Another platoon was attached to the infantry for the attack on the Comandancia.

That platoon, with three female enlisted personnel, was ordered to close some intersections about a block from the Comandancia to block any Panamanian reinforcements from arriving.

Private First Class Felicia Featherstone, 19, of St. Louis, said there were only 12 soldiers at the intersection she was guarding, with the rest of the platoon at the next corner. She said the confused battle saw hundreds of civilians fleeing Chorrillo, the slum neighborhood surrounding the Comandancia, running through the intersection while the Panamanian troops shot at her squad.

"I always wanted to be an MP," Private Featherstone said. "I knew MPs break up fights, but I never thought I would have people shooting at me just because I am an American."

Arafat Force Is Deployed In Lebanon

Reuters

KFAR HATA, Lebanon — Guerrillas loyal to Yasser Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organization leader, were deployed in southern Lebanon on Wednesday to separate warring Shiite militias and keep fighting away from refugee camps.

Security sources said that battles eased between the pro-Syrian Amal and Iranian-backed Hezbollah when 300 men of Mr. Arafat's mainstream Fatah movement were deployed at a strategic hill in Iqlim el Tufah, 40 kilometers (25 miles) south of Beirut.

Although the Shiite militias had not agreed to the move in advance, the sources said, they ordered their fighters not to open fire at the Palestinian guerrillas.

Before the Palestinian deployment, Hezbollah, the militant Party of God, announced a unilateral cease-fire in the battles, which have killed at least 72 persons and wounded 255 since Dec. 23.

Palestinian sources said the deployment aimed to keep the fighting away from the camps of Ein el Hilweh and Miyeh Miyeh, a few kilometers north of Iqlim el Tufah.

Security sources said Mr. Arafat feared that Hezbollah, which gained the upper hand in the fighting and captured five villages, would provide support to anti-Arafat Palestinians in the camps.

Amal retained control of Kfar Hata and two nearby hills. Hezbollah was ousted from southern Lebanon by Amal in April 1988, and the pro-Iranian radicals retaliated by driving Amal from Beirut's southern suburbs a month later.

A peace agreement sponsored by Tehran and Damascus and signed last January by the rival groups, which are fighting for leadership of the Shiite community, collapsed after Amal refused to allow Hezbollah back into the south.

U.S. Assails Israel on Excessive Force

Reuters

WASHINGTON — The United States criticized Israel on Wednesday for using gunfire to crush unrest in the occupied territories but disputed an accusation by Amnesty International that there was a deliberate Israeli policy of trying to kill Palestinian protesters.

Noting Israel's denial of the allegations in a report by the London-based human-rights organization, a State Department spokesman said,

"We agree that Israel does not have a deliberate policy of the indiscriminate use of deadly force."

But he said Washington had often objected both publicly and in private to the Israeli Army's use of live ammunition to quell civilian unrest in the West Bank and Gaza

Strip, where the Palestinian uprising has entered its third year.

In some of its harshest criticism of Israel's handling of the revolt, Amnesty said that guidelines on the use of firearms could permit unjustifiable killing and that investigation of abuses was inadequate.

The Israeli Army rejected the accusations, saying that soldiers were allowed to shoot to kill only "in situations of real danger to life."

Amnesty said that in the last two years 560 Palestinians were shot and killed, 70 died from teargas-related incidents and 15 were reported to have died after beatings by Israeli forces. The army said 543 Palestinians had been killed by Israelis.

The rights group expressed concern about the deaths of unarmed Palestinians, saying that although

most killings occurred during protests and clashes, "an alarmingly high number" of those shot did not appear to have been involved in life-threatening or violent incidents.

Paper Resists Protest

Management at The Jerusalem Post, Israel's only English-language daily, continued Wednesday to resist calls by journalists to dismiss the publisher after complaints of editorial interference.

With no journalistic background, the publisher, Yehuda Levy, took office eight months ago, after the paper was sold to a Canadian company. The editor, Erwin Frenkel, and managing director, Ari Raft, have resigned, charging him with editorial interference.

Earlier this week, the country's attorney general filed murder charges against the former head of the investigative police, Colonel Nivkalo Madman, who took refuge with General Noriega in Panama City on Dec. 24, four days after the United States invaded Panama.

Since then, the White House has refused to comment in detail on negotiations among the United States, Panama and the Vatican over the general's future, although Mr. Bush indicated last weekend that he was not willing to let him leave Panama for a country other than the United States.

The general is under indictment in two federal courts in Florida on drug trafficking charges. Mr. Bush has made bringing him to trial in

New Security Chief Resigns in Panama

By Larry Rohter

New York Times Service

PANAMA CITY — The newly appointed commander of Panama's security force resigned Wednesday, less than two weeks after the new civilian government appointed him to head the remnants of the deposed General Manuel Antonio Noriega's Panama Defense Forces.

President Guillermo Endara said Colonel Robert Armijo's decision to step down was "irrevocable, and since it was irrevocable, I accepted it." He was immediately succeeded by his deputy, Colonel Eduardo Herrera Hassan.

The change of command appeared to reflect a deepening debate, among government officials, their U.S. advisers and the Panamanian public, about the proper structure, role and leadership of the institution that seized power in a coup in 1983. Colonel Armijo remained a Noriega loyalist until the U.S. invasion on Dec. 20 and was said by Panamanian officials to have been picked for the commander's job strictly on the basis of seniority.

Colonel Herrera Hassan, in contrast, had earlier broken with General Noriega after serving as Panama's ambassador to Israel and is known to be a favorite of the U.S. military and civilian establishment. A Panamanian official said Wednesday that he had, with tacit U.S. support, established himself as the real leader of the force.

"Armijo had the title," the official said. "But with each passing day, it was becoming clearer and clearer that Herrera Hassan had the authority and power. I think that since Armijo was scheduled to retire in a few months anyway, he figured there was no point in sticking around."

Earlier this week, the country's attorney general filed murder charges against the former head of the investigative police, Colonel Nivkalo Madman, who took refuge with General Noriega in Panama City on Dec. 24, four days after the United States invaded Panama.

Other members of the Noriega high command are being investigated for human-rights violations, abuse of authority, drug trafficking and corruption, but government officials declined to say Wednesday whether Colonel Armijo was the target of such an investigation.

A spokesman at the mission said General Noriega was being kept in isolation in a room with an broken television set, The Associated Press reported.

Jose Cubillas said the papal nuncio, Jose Sebastian Laboe, had ordered the staff, largely made up of nuns and priests, to avoid any conversation with the general. He said two Noriega aides also there were "very nervous" in light of activity around the compound, which

is ringed by barbed wire and dozens of U.S. soldiers.

The Civil Crusade, which for two years led Panamanian efforts to topple General Noriega through peaceful protests, was scheduled to hold a demonstration Wednesday to demand that he and Colonel Madman be expelled from the mission. The march would be the first organized public manifestation since the invasion.

Cuba Plans Evacuation

Cuba said it would send a plane to Panama on Thursday to evacuate the families of its diplomats there and other Cubans trapped by the U.S. intervention, Reuters reported from Havana.

Cuban officials had previously said that General Noriega originally sought political asylum at the Cuban Embassy he would have been granted it without hesitation.

Death Toll Estimate

The Pentagon has declined to make public the figures on civilian casualties in the intervention, but some U.S. military officials have estimated the civilian death toll at 300. Panamanian government officials, however, estimate the civilian death toll much higher, at 600 to 1,000.

U.S. officials say 23 U.S. military personnel have been killed in the intervention and 322 wounded. Among Panamanians, 297 soldiers are reported dead.

In Related developments:

The Pentagon announced that about 500 members of the army's 1st Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment would return from Panama to its home base in Georgia late Wednesday, United Press International reported. The unit contributed to the more than 11,000 troops dispatched from U.S. bases for the invasion.

Mike Harari, an Israeli adviser to General Noriega is believed to have escaped U.S. forces hunting for him and to have fled to Israel after the invasion, Reuters reported, quoting a senior U.S. military official. "We received a report yesterday that he is now in Israel," said Lieutenant General Carl Stiner, the invasion's operational commander.

Group Vows to Avenge U.S. Attack on Panama

Reuters

MEXICO CITY — A group calling itself the "Omar Torrijos Anti-Interventionist Command" has vowed to attack American targets worldwide to avenge the U.S. military strike in Panama.

A spokesman for the Mexican attorney general's office said the letter was probably a hoax. But a U.S. Embassy spokesman said it would be taken seriously.

Nunan Asks Quick Pullout

The United States must replace its troops in Panama with civilian expertise within months or risk blame for that country's ravaged economy, Senator Sam Nunn said Wednesday, United Press International reported from Washington.

Mr. Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, who was in Panama on Wednesday to observe military operations and review economic options, said Panamanian support for U.S. military involvement might be short-lived.

Mr. Nunn said his impression of the attack was "still positive," but he criticized military intelligence. "We could have learned a lot more in advance," said Mr. Nunn, referring particularly to the "fighting capability" of some of the units loyal to General Noriega.

Apparently empowered with the final say in running the country, The Associated Press reported from Bogota.

Rompre, the official Romanian news agency, said Ion Iliescu, who is serving as interim president, would also lead the 11-member executive board, which sits at the head of the broader National Salvation Committee.

Rompre listed Dumitru Mazilu, a leading critic of Mr. Ceausescu, as first deputy of the executive board, which has legislative powers and holds ultimate authority for the moment.

Executive Board Named
The provisional leadership announced the composition Wednesday of an executive board that is

WORLD BRIEFS

U.K. Lifts Falkland Shipping Ban

BUENOS AIRES (UPI) — Britain has informed Argentina that it has lifted the 150-mile exclusion zone for merchant shipping around the Falkland Islands, the Argentine foreign minister, Domingo Cavallo, said Wednesday.

"This is a result of détente between Argentina and the United Kingdom," Mr. Cavallo said. He said Britain had lifted the restrictions on Tuesday.

Argentine ships were banned from the 240-kilometer zone after the outbreak of hostilities in the Falkland Islands war of 1982, in which Britain expelled an Argentine invasion force. In October, the two nations resumed full trade and consular ties, and next month they are expected to re-establish diplomatic relations, which were severed during the war.

Mrs. Bush Has Radiation Treatment

WASHINGTON (AP) — Barbara Bush began 10 days of radiation treatment on Wednesday for eye swelling and impaired vision resulting from a thyroid condition and said she felt fine after her first treatment, the White House said.

Mrs. Bush, 64, went to Walter Reed Army Medical Center for the 10-minute treatment, which will be repeated on each of the next nine days, said her spokeswoman, Jean Becker. The treatment will not prevent Mrs. Bush from carrying out her normal schedule, the spokeswoman said.

Mrs. Bush was diagnosed last year as having Graves disease, which has resulted in a swelling behind her eyes, causing tearing and double vision. The radiation, focused on bony canals behind the eyes called orbits, is intended to reduce the swelling, the spokeswoman said. The muscles that are swollen are in the orbit area.

Bulgarian Party Meets With Rivals

SOFIA (AP) — Communist Party leaders opened talks Wednesday with opposition groups that could lead to the formation of a transition government and the end of the Communists' guaranteed supremacy in Bulgaria.

The official BTA press agency said delegations from the ruling Communists, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Union of Democratic Forces had met to discuss political and economic change after consulting with other public organizations and workers' unions.

The talks were held after the independent trade union Podkrepa, one of the groups in the Union of Democratic Forces, last week threatened a general strike if the Communists did not agree to share power.

Liberia Refugees Report a Coup Bid

DANABE, Ivory Coast (Reuters) — Refugees fleeing Liberia said Wednesday that many people had been killed or wounded in an attempt to overthrow President Samuel K. Doe and that fighting could still be going on.

Liberians arriving in neighboring Ivory Coast said Mr. Doe's opponents had launched what his government called an attempted invasion from Ivory Coast on Dec. 24. Precise casualty figures were not available.

The Liberian government has given few details of the attack, which took place near the town of Bunuo, but said that it had sent troops to the area and that the region was under its control. Some of the rebels were still at large, the government said.

Contras Disavow Ambush on Clerics

MIAMI (AP) — A spokesman for the contras on Wednesday dismissed government allegations that the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan rebels were responsible for an ambush that killed two nuns and injured a bishop. The attack occurred late Monday 400 kilometers (250 miles) northeast of Managua as four church workers rode in a pickup truck in a remote area of Zelaya Province.

Enrique Hernandez, the contra spokesman, said in Miami, "We have not received any report from patrols of that kind of action." He said the contras did not have a presence in the area where the attack occurred, but officials of the regional police said that about 60 rebels operate in the area and were responsible for the attack.

For the Record

More than 71,000 Jews left the Soviet Union in 1989, the highest annual total since the National Conference on Soviet Jewry began keeping track in 1968. Of the 71,196 who left the Soviet Union last year, 12,056 went to Israel; nearly all others were bound for the United States. (AP)

Oliver Tambo, the exiled president of the African National Congress, will undergo medical treatment in Stockholm, the Swedish Foreign Ministry announced. Mr. Tambo, 72, entered a London hospital in August; an ANC spokesman said later that a brain spasm had impaired movement on his right side. (Reuters)

A number of U.S. airlines plan to raise ticket prices, effective Jan. 10, due to a sharp increase in fuel costs. Northwest Airlines will add a \$6 fuel surcharge each way to domestic fares and is applying for foreign approval of the surcharge for its international flights. Pan American, World Airways and Continental Airlines plan to raise most domestic fares by four percent, and TWA says it will impose a fuel surcharge of \$5 to \$20 per ticket depending on flight length. (AP, Reuters)

TRAVEL UPDATE

SAS to Begin Direct Flights to Latvia

STOCKHOLM (Reuters) — Scandinavian Airlines System plans to begin direct twice-weekly flights to Riga in the Soviet republic of Latvia in April and is considering service to East Berlin and Prague, a spokesman said on Wednesday.

The Soviet airline Aeroflot will shortly announce details of reciprocal flights to Stockholm, the spokesman said. In November, SAS became the first Western carrier to fly to the Baltic republics when it opened a route between Stockholm and the Estonian capital of Tallinn.

British Airways is to end flights to Jordan and will join a joint service with the Royal Jordanian airline from April 1. British Airways currently operates three flights a week between London Gatwick and Amman, via Cairo. The BA-RJ service will run five nonstop flights a week between London Heathrow and Amman, increasing to six on June 1. (Reuters)

El Al Israel Airlines plans to increase its U.S. service through a partnership with newly formed North American Airlines. El Al plans to use Boeing 757s operated by North American from Los Angeles to New York on Israeli-bound El Al flights. Passengers will change planes in New York. El Al owns 24.9 percent of North American. (UPI)

Axolotl photographers taking equipment through X-ray security machines at Britain's main airports can rest assured that film will not be damaged, a trade magazine said, citing tests in which exposed film was passed through the devices up to 20 times. It said results of tests by Amateur Photographer magazine at Heathrow and Gatwick could be applied to many — but not all — X-ray machines worldwide. (AFP)

WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.		HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.
Amsterdam	4	1	0	Beijing	3	0	0
Antwerp	4	1	0	Bombay	3	0	0
Berlin	4	1	0	Calcutta	3	0	0
Bombay	3	0	0	Hankow	3	0	0
Buenos Aires	12	6	0	Harbin	3	0	0
Cardiff	4	1	0	Heilongjiang	3	0	0
Cairo	12	6	0	Hong Kong	3	0	0
Canton	12	6	0	Kobe	3	0	0
Chengdu	12	6	0	Manila	3	0	0
Colon	12	6	0	Osaka	3	0	0
Copenhagen	4	1	0	Shanghai	3	0	0
Dallas	12	6	0	Taipei	3	0	0
Damascus	12	6	0	Tokyo	3	0	0
Dhaka	12	6	0				
Dublin	4	1	0				
Edinburgh	4	1	0				
Geneva	4	1	0				
Hankow	3	0	0				
Harbin	3	0	0				
Heilongjiang	3	0	0				
Hong Kong	3	0	0				
Kobe	3	0	0				
Manila	3	0	0				
Osaka	3	0	0				
Shanghai	3	0	0				
Taipei	3	0	0				
Tokyo	3	0	0				

Honecker and Wife to Leave Villa And May Seek a Church Refuge

Agence France-Press

BONN — Erich Honecker, the former East German leader, and his wife will soon leave their villa in what was the residential complex for the party leadership at Wandlitz, north of Berlin, and are expected to find refuge with a church institution, press reports said Wednesday.

By mid-February all houses and buildings in Wandlitz, an area once reserved for senior Communist Party members, will be turned into a rehabilitation center run by the Health Ministry, the mass circulation newspaper Bild Zeitung said.

A total of 23 Politburo members of the communist Socialist Unity Party had lived at Wandlitz. So far, only Mr. Honecker's immediate successor, Egon Krenz, and three others have left. Some are now in prison, including the former East Berlin party chief, Guenter Schabowski. Mr. Honecker has not been jailed because of his poor health.

Mr. Honecker, 77, and his wife, Margot, 62, a former education minister, live in fear of being lynched, a spokesman for the East German press said. "Churches here have a moral duty," he said, to see no harm come to the Honeckers, referring to possible church accommodation for them.

East German press reports said the rehabilitation center would concentrate on people suffering from multiple sclerosis, accident victims and the handicapped.

U.S. Denies It Will Allow Noriega to Flee

By Andrew Rosenthal

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In a confused tangle of public statements, the White House sought Wednesday to quash speculation that it might allow General Manuel Antonio Noriega to take asylum in another country.

General Noriega took asylum in the Vatican on Dec. 24, four days after the United States invaded Panama. Since then, the White House has refused to comment in detail on negotiations among the United States, Panama and the Vatican over the general's future, although Mr. Bush indicated last weekend that he was not willing to let him leave Panama for a country other than the United States.

The confusion arose from remarks by Martin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, during his daily news briefing that were interpreted by some reporters as a shift in the White House position that left the door open to the possibility of General Noriega being sent to isolation in a third country.

By the end of the day, it was not

entirely clear whether that interpretation was correct. Mr. Fitzwater acknowledged that some of the confusion may have arisen from the way he handled questions about the general Wednesday.

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The general is under indictment in two federal courts in Florida on drug trafficking charges. Mr. Bush has made bringing him to trial in

the United States a major justification for the Panama invasion, as well as a major aspect of his Latin American policy in general.

On Wednesday, Mr. Fitzwater was asked if it was still the White House position that General Noriega should not go to a third country.

"We want Noriega back," Mr. Fitzwater replied, adding, "that has not changed."

Asked about the subject again later in his briefing, Mr. Fitzwater said: "We've never said 'no third country.' What we have said is 'We want him to come back to the United States.'"

But he added, "We will not rule out any and every kind of alternative," and that prompted news reports that the White House was shifting its policy.

New Romanian Parties, Scrambling to Organize, Urge an Election Delay

By Clyde Haberman

New York Times Service

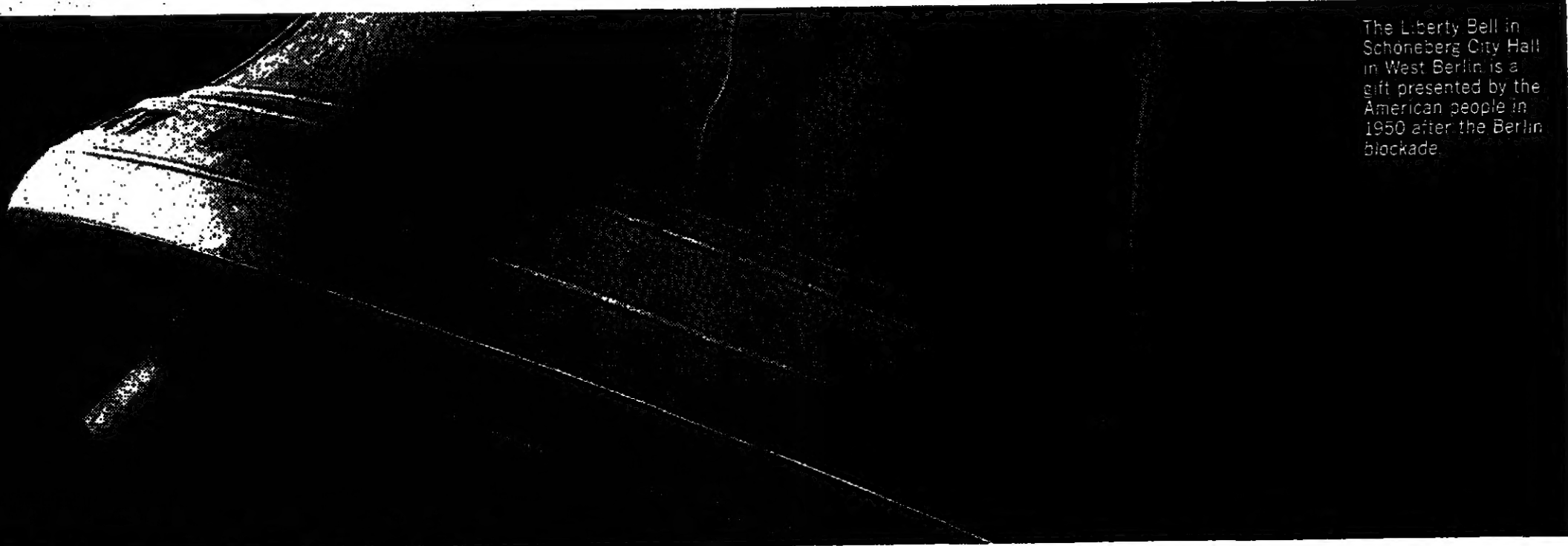
BUCHAREST — Some of Romania's nascent political parties called Wednesday for a delay of national elections planned for April, saying that they could not get ready in time.

The request underlined the difficulties in trying to create new political structures in a society long accustomed to being told what to do by one party, the Communists, and by one man, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Of the half-dozen parties that have surfaced since Mr. Ceausescu's downfall Dec. 22, only one, the National Peasant Party-Christian Democrats, has managed to acquire office space and telephones. That is the extent of its equipment.

"That this world under God shall have a new birth of freedom."

Inscription on the Liberty Bell
in Berlin



The Liberty Bell in Schöneberg City Hall in West Berlin is a gift presented by the American people in 1950 after the Berlin blockade.

1989 will go down in history not as a year, but as an epoch.

What seemed unimaginable for decades has happened almost overnight. The bells of freedom have begun to ring out on the other side of the Wall – in East Berlin, in Eastern Europe.

We are witnessing one of the greatest democratic revolutions ever: the demonstration of the will of man for freedom – a will that is stronger than concrete and steel. But without the support of the Western

Allies and their ceaseless work for peace and freedom, these seeds of liberty could never take root in Eastern Europe.

It is now up to all of us to take this historic opportunity to turn hopeful expectation into reality for people everywhere. We at Daimler-Benz are ready to support this development.

And now, at the beginning of a new decade full of hopes and chances, let us all have the strength to meet the challenges and responsibilities of freedom.

DAIMLERBENZ

Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Havel Has It Right

It may prove to be true, as the current folk wisdom in Washington has it, that Václav Havel doesn't stand much chance of being a successful president of Czechoslovakia. Mr. Havel is, after all, a playwright (an unspoken "only" generally precedes this depiction in worried conversation), and the political and economic wreckage he must address would tax a man much more experienced in statecraft than he. But since the common folk wisdom has already proved so spectacularly wrong in predicting outcomes in Eastern Europe and since Mr. Havel has already proved so spectacularly right in his attempts to change his country's night, we would advise a little caution on the forecasting front.

That's point one. Point two is that whether Mr. Havel in fact lasts a month, a year or a full term in office and whether he does an effective political job or not, the televised speech he made to his countrymen on New Year's Day will rank as an enormous and priceless contribution to understanding not just the meaning of the revolution in Eastern Europe but also the obligations that revolution now imposes on the people who brought it about. No one who has seen the combined insight and courage to utter those words should be written off as a political innocent. Mr. Havel understands and dares to say what the dark side of modern Europe's history has been about.

The theme that strikes us as most important is summed up in this quote: "When I talk about a decayed moral environment... I mean all of us, because all of us have become accustomed to the totalitarian system, accepted it as an inalterable fact and thereby kept it running. In other words, all of us are responsible, each to a different degree, for keeping the totalitarian machine running. None of us is merely a victim of it, because all of us helped to create it together." Mr. Havel describes acceptance of this unwelcome truth as a precondition of assuming responsibility now to recreate the country and the society.

Had the assertion that no one in his audience was "merely a victim" come from anyone other than a principal victim of the

Czechoslovakian Communist regime—dissembler Havel was hounded and persecuted for years—it might not have had the same moral force and authority. Even so, these words will sound cruel to some who remember how the Czechs were, first, manipulated into submission by their Soviet occupiers and then brutally run over, 21 years ago, when they tried to break free. But Mr. Havel needs no instruction in that, and he can hardly be charged with sympathy for the crowd he worked so relentlessly against the odds to pitch out.

What he is saying recognizes something else: the painful truth that throughout these newly dismembered countries, as in countries coming out of tyrannical rule elsewhere around the world, it was finally not just a few guys with guns against a subdued populace. Rather there were, over time, infinite shades and degrees of compliance, acquiescence, responsibility, collusion and resistance adding up to a very complicated whole. The hardest questions facing these countries now are said to be economic. But, in our view, right up there with the economy is the core political question of establishing a realistic historical understanding of what happened. One notes with a certain uneasiness that in some of these places government and press figures who just months ago were spouting and/or enforcing the party line are now prodigiously denouncing their fallen patrons in a style not so different from before. Opportunists and revisionist record-keepers will flourish.

Perhaps not the hardest but surely the most delicate challenge facing Mr. Havel and his counterparts in Eastern Europe will lie in finding the proper dimension of punishment for the worst offenders and chastisement for the in-betweeners, and in compelling the great mass of people who suffered so to accept a sufficient measure of responsibility for their part to enable them to take responsibility for creating a decent future together. However his term in office works out, Mr. Havel understands the precondition of national regeneration.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Poland Takes the Plunge

The Polish celebration of the new year has already ended. The crash program to propel the economy into capitalism has gone abruptly into effect, and that means pain. The price of heating fuel may jump by seven times. Other necessities will also cost much more. And hundreds of thousands of workers will soon be unemployed.

There is no certainty that the brazen plan to revive the economy will work. Success depends on the willingness of Polish workers to swallow severe short-term losses because they trust that their new government is working for their long-term benefit. Herein lies Poland's advantage among the East bloc countries just emerging from the stifling grip of communism: trust.

The workers created Solidarity, and Solidarity created the economic program. This trust might buy the government just enough time to conquer inflation and economic stagnation.

The Polish economy is a disaster. To stop raging inflation, the fledgling government must control money creation. To do that it must control government spending. In Poland that means ending widespread price subsidies. Hence almost all price controls have now suddenly ended. Prices of food, fuel and nearly everything else will soar—for a short time.

If wages are allowed to follow, the battle against inflation will be lost. So the program calls for wage controls and therefore a deliberate fall in living standards. If workers go along, the budget deficit can be eradicated and inflation halted. Afterward, living standards can recover. If workers strike, the entire program will collapse.

Price hikes will not be the only assault on workers. The government will end most

subsidies to industries. Bankruptcies will occur, creating something new and frightening in a society accustomed to Communist controls—unemployment. The uncertain promise of unemployment insurance offers only a small measure of comfort.

Even if inflation is conquered and unemployment is temporary, the economic program will create severe social strains. Competitive markets reward some people and punish others. Economic outcomes will surely become less equal—a jolting change in a nation used to government-guaranteed equality.

Poland's leaders will be tempted to cushion the impact of rough market forces by offering subsidies and protections that would make economic failure less costly to individuals. If carefully designed, such intervention can follow the "gentle" Scandinavian model that many East Europeans envy. If lavish, however, they could destroy incentives to work hard.

The impact of Poland's plunge into capitalism will be felt throughout Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia's parliament has recently approved a similar transition to Western-style markets. Unlike Poland, the government in Prague was not created by its workers. But Czechoslovakia does not suffer Poland's huge debt and consumer shortages. The political base is less sure but the economic base is stronger.

The other countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, have their eyes on Poland. They may not choose the same cold capitalist path, but their commitment to a scary world of competitive markets may still depend on the outcome of Poland's brave plunge.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Road to Fluency

What's wrong with the way American students are taught foreign languages? Just about everything, says a report from the American Council on Education.

The main problem is incoherence. To learn a foreign language takes years of sustained study, something the American education system is notoriously bad at providing. It takes forethought and coordination between school levels—between, say, an elementary school that introduces fifth- and sixth-graders to French and a junior high school that suddenly decides to offer everybody Russian. Then there are elementary schools first up about immersing kindergarten and first-grade students in Japanese—how will that progress be maintained in later grades? Where will the supply of teachers come from? The situation in colleges is even worse, with nearly all language training being geared to upper-level literature courses and hardly any of it calculated to build directly on the year or two of French or Spanish most Americans had in high school.

How can order be brought from this chaos? It is not as if the field lacked resources or manpower. The network of foreign language teachers, university research centers and international programs is a sprawling one with hundreds of grants, foreign exchange programs and independent techniques, many of them very effective, none of them properly monitored or publicized within the field. The problem is coordinating those resources and building a structure through which to funnel sorely needed additional corporate and/or government support, if any can be mustered.

How to do it? Among foreign language educators a lively fight on this question is now going on. One group, a 165-member consortium of institutions, calls for a new federal agency to draw the strands together—an endeavor more likely to slow down than speed up any efforts to streamline the field. Beneath the umbrella, though, are groups that have taken a different tack and are quietly going about the research that is needed before any coordination can occur.

The report from the Johns Hopkins-based National Foreign Language Center, "International Studies and the Undergraduate," is such an effort. It brings together surveys of study-abroad programs, numbers of students in advanced language and area studies, and contact between foreign language courses and those that should be intertwined with them but often aren't. It calls for more cooperation within and across university departments—not by a third party from above, but by the players themselves. That is a crucial first step on what will be a long road.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

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OPINION

The Soviet Union Is an Empire in Danger of Collapse

By William Pfaff

PARIS—Eastern Europe in 1989 had only to be liberated from its tyrants. The Soviet Union in 1990 has to be saved from itself. The first was easy—astonishingly so; only the Romanians paid a price in human lives. The Romanians, that is, and the East Germans of 1953 and Hungarians of 1956, whose uprisings made it evident that the general liberation which now has taken place was an eventual inevitability.

No inevitabilities play in the fortunes of the U.S.S.R. today. What is so striking about the Soviet situation is the role which hazard has played and will again play. Mikhail Gorbachev is a product of a reforming intelligentsia which would influence events even if there were no Mikhail

staff which sent Lenin off from Switzerland to imperial Russia in 1917. It was one of those decisions that seemed a good idea at the time. Ludendorff, of the general staff, wrote afterwards, "Headquarters considered that in this way the defenses of the [Russian] army would be weakened"—and indeed they were, in the chaotic months which followed. The ultimate outcome of the decision, 28 years later, was Lenin's red flag flying over a ruined Berlin.

Now the ultimate outcome of that Soviet victory over Nazi Germany may prove to be the Soviet Union's own collapse, brought on by over-extension and the waste of the country's resources in a superpower role, born of war and European conquest, which the U.S.S.R. was incapable of sustaining—and which produced lethal internal contradictions.

The Soviet Union is not a "normal" state. Advanced science and technology coexist with an economy of Third World standards. It is the last of the 19th century empires to survive. Belorussia, the Ukraine, Bessarabia (Soviet Moldavia), Georgia, the Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Armenia are annexed territories. What now is Soviet Central Asia, and much of the Soviet Far East, were acquired only a century ago.

An American analogy would be a United States with Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and Southern California overwhelmingly Catholic and Spanish-speaking, northern California Russian-speaking and Orthodox,

the northern Midwest and New England French in language and culture, and Southerners still convinced that they live in occupied territory.

Finland, the Baltic nations, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia all fought for their independence of Russia when the civil war broke out in 1918. The Baltic states, parts of Poland and of what used to be East Prussia were incorporated (or reincorporated) into the Soviet Union only in the course of the Second World War.

Today there are separatist movements in virtually all these places—and there is violence. On the Iranian border just last Friday, rioters against the local Communist authorities raised the ominous cry—recurring 1917—"power to the people," and one excited militant compared the situation with that in Romania.

In reaction there is a growing Russian nationalist movement whose campaign platform (elections sched-

uled for March) addresses voters as "Compatriots," not Comrades, and declares that "Russia has always been and will remain a global power." The document attacks "naïve" politicians who are cutting "Russia's" military power on grounds of a need for mere military sufficiency, "while the United States goes on with its armaments program."

Mr. Gorbachev's New Year's message justifiably spoke of "a sentiment of bitterness" provoked by the checks that perestroika has met in the last 12 months—"the great difficulties economic reform has encountered, the worsened consumer goods supply." He went on: "For the first time we have experienced massive work stoppages in industry. There has been a lack of order and discipline." And there have been the ethnic tensions "that have caused inquietude throughout the year."

There is extreme pessimism in official and intellectual circles in Moscow about how, or whether, all this can be surmounted. As yet there is

not despair; rather, a determination to go on with reform at whatever cost, in recognition of the fact that no national alternative exists to going on. Yet go where? Here is the problem. No one can describe with confidence how to do what all want to do.

The economic reforms already undertaken have made things worse rather than better. The political reforms have excited disintegrative nationalisms and weakened the authority of the party. The argument over economic policy has resulted in a new compromise program of action which no one likes and few believe in. Nationality tensions have no answer except a rise in general living standards that is nowhere in sight.

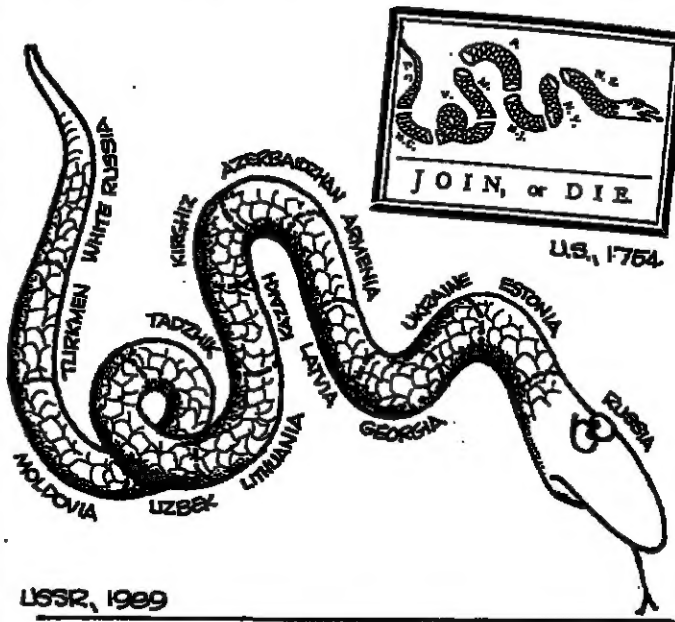
The struggle now is not to save communism or to reform communism but simply to save the state; a state which, provisionally, describes itself as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—its socialism, its system of Soviets and its union all in doubt.

International Herald Tribune
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The struggle now is not to save communism or to reform communism but simply to save the state.

Gorbachev. Nonetheless he is a politician of genius, and a statesman; without him Soviet reform could have come too late, or even now have failed, and the general liberation might have required much violence.

This whole extraordinary historical episode began by hazard, even though Leninists must insist on the opposite: that what happened to Russia was the product of immense social forces nothing could withstand. It was the German general



DIVIDE, or DIE.

Baltic Separatists Should Think Again

By Robert Schaeffer

After World Wars I and II, Ireland, Korea, China, Vietnam, India, Pakistan, Palestine, Germany and Cyprus were divided so that separate ethnic or ideological groups could exercise self-determination. Partition caused enormous social dislocations and impoverished the meaning of citizenship and sovereignty.

The partitioned displaced millions of people living on the "wrong" side of newly created borders, yet many

minorities remained behind, knocking attempts to create ethnically homogeneous states. Upon taking power, majority groups have typically disenchanted minorities, degraded nonofficial languages and undermined minorities' civil rights. Such discrimination, of course, exacerbated social conflict.

Partitions left the territorial status of many countries unresolved, helping set the stage for conflict over disputed territories. The major wars since World War II—in Korea and Vietnam, between India and Pakistan, and Israel and its neighbors—have been partly a consequence of partition-induced problems.

Similar problems would likely attend the secession of Lithuania or other republics. There are sizable minorities in Lithuania and Estonia; Latvians are in the minority in

their own country. What would become of other ethnic groups in independent states? We might well expect disruptive migrations, which would neither create homogeneous states nor resolve conflicts between majorities and minorities.

While Baltic secessionists have sought independence peacefully, their attitudes toward minorities can be grouped by laws already enacted (and sometimes rescinded). The laws have limited the voting rights of minorities, restricted immigration and required government officials to use indigenous languages or lose their jobs. Legislation of this sort degrades the meaning of citizenship and sets the stage for inter-ethnic conflict.

Mikhail Gorbachev has attempted to democratize the political process and to devolve considerable power from the center to the republics. Whether this will assuage independence-minded ethnic groups is unclear. But he clearly understands that secessionism for some is incompatible with democracy for all. "To exercise self-determination through secession is to blow apart the union, to pit people against one another and sow discord, bloodshed and death," he has said.

Baltic ethnic groups believe that secessionist politics will help them achieve democracy. But in the long run the pursuit of self-determination is likely to come at the expense of democracy and lead into a sectarian cul-de-sac from which it will be difficult to escape.

The writer is author of "Warpaths: The Politics of Partition." He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Panama: Call New Elections, With Uncle Sam Standing Aside

By Flora Lewis

PARIS—An American invasion finally dumped General Manuel Antonio Noriega of Panama. Popular fury rid Noriega of the Cessacoc. Various means reach the end.

It was not to America's credit, though, that it felt obliged to send 25,000 troops and let Panama City be ravaged to depose an obscure little man it had promoted for many years. It is unfortunate that the events coincided, making the contrast so clear. And regrettable that Secretary of State James Baker made a point of comparing them.

But it was downright demeaning that U.S. forces went on to childish tricks of harassing General Noriega by hard-rock bombardment in his Vatican refuge and raiding the home of the Nicaraguan ambassador.

There is some responsibility attached to being the superpower that

wishes to promote freedom and the rule of law in the world, and it isn't fulfilled only by spending might and money. Behavior counts, too, and errors are cumulative.

By the time President George Bush decided to unleash his frustration with Noriega, a big mess operation was probably inevitable. It started long ago, sometimes with good intentions.

The United States decided to build up Panama's National Defense Forces as the first line of defense for the canal, and encouraged its leaders to seek popularity with energetic civil action. The forces took over the country, leaving an administrative vacuum now.

Then, Washington had further needs. General Noriega had presumed that his support for the Contras in Nicaragua earned him indulgence for

his private enterprises, and was only disabused when his mentors found him playing both sides, funneling supplies to the Sandinistas and Cuba around America's embargo.

A series of attempted coups, sanctions and deals showed that in its laudable assumption of command, Washington seriously misunderstood the Panama it had developed, and underestimated its man.

So the deed was done. The new president, Guillermo Endara, will have a hard time erasing the stamp of being Uncle Sam's puppet, placed as most Panamanians are at General Noriega's fall. He would be well advised to call new elections when the country settles down. The fact that last spring's elections were stolen from him is less than a solid mandate.

The best part of what was achieved in Eastern Europe is that it was done with so little violence, except in Romania. Even there, the abolition of the death sentence is encouraging.

Although the heavy execution of the Cessacoc was ugly, it probably saved lives both by convincing the police forces that continuing to fight was futile and by venting popular thirst for revenge.

Czechoslovakia's new president-playwright, Václav Havel, set the appropriate tone for the new era in calling on his fellow citizens to rely on dignity, honesty and honor. "We are not like them" was a slogan of the peaceable massed demonstrators who forced out the regime.

Revolutions do devour their children, whether they are made from above or from below. There are big holes now in all these overturned so-

cieties, and big recriminations and personal grievances will be surging to fill them. All need organization, and those that proceed gently will have the best chance of staying civil.

Perhaps the end of 1989 is at last the answer to 1789, whose bicentennial the French celebrate no longer, but must remember in his book on the French revolution, "Citizens," Simon Schama stressed the dangers.

A reviewer noted his suggestion that the ensuing "bestialities" touched on some fundamental flaw within the revolutionary ideal itself—that there is, inescapably, in the very process of liberation a paradox of violence.

It is a flaw inherent in violence and the arrogance of supposing that there is a ready-made formula for the good society, one that can be imported or imposed. In addition, the revolutionary French had the misfortune of facing an angry, armed coterie of European monarchs determined to stifle their "community of free citizens."

The East Europeans are now finding only encouragement, even from their erstwhile Soviet overlords. Mikhail Gorbachev may be uneasy; there are even rumors of stirring Red Army rearmament at loss of dominion. But he seems to understand that his country is better off with friends on its borders than with complacent viceroys and sullen subjects.

Panama and the whole of Central America would be the better for U.S. understanding that the United States must stand aside and let people work out their own way to get along with a powerful neighbor. And so would the United States. Good intentions served with force and deceit are offensive, too.

The Washington Post.

The New York Times.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1890: Justice for Jeanne

PARIS—The Herald says in an editorial: The performance of "Jeanne d'Arc" by Sarah Bernhardt last evening [Jan. 3] is something more than a dramatic representation. It was natural that this gifted artist add to her achievements the character which has held the foremost place in France's patriotic imagination. The Maid of Orléans has not had good treatment at the hands of Shakespeare or Voltaire. History has avoided, rather than explained, her life. And now that the best sentiment in Christian France is moving the Vatican for her canonization, it is proper that the drama give its supreme aid in doing her memory justice. The performance will be an event in the history of French patriotism.

1915: Revolt in Albania

ATHENS—Despatches from Albania state that the situation there has become exceedingly serious. The revolution is assuming alarming propor-

tions, and nearly all of eastern Albania has fallen to the rebels. The capture of Durazzo, now occupied by Essad Pasha, is imminent. The revolution has been attributed to the Young Turks, who are seeking to interfere with Serbian operations against Austria.

1940: Celestial Governors

ROME—Raffaello Banditelli, a scientist, confirms that the Flood occurred in Noah's time. He collected data while making astronomical studies during which four planets beyond Neptune were discovered. "These celestial bodies regulate our entire solar system. It is their huge power of attraction which causes all geological movements and earthquakes," he said. "By means of research on the planets' movements, I have reached the conclusion that the deluge occurred in 2887 B.C. I have also obtained proof that the 'mythical' island of Atlantis existed west of the Pillars of Hercules and was submerged beneath the Atlantic by an earthquake."

HEALTH/SCIENCE

MEDICINE

The \$400-per-Kilo, Deluxe Belgian Diet

By Mary Carpenter
International Herald Tribune

GROANING holiday boards piled high with turkey stuffing, mince pie washed down with eggnog often leave revelers with unwelcome weight gain. In the aftermath, physicians in some countries offer dramatic medical treatments including in-patient fasting programs and strong drugs even for modest overweight. Elsewhere sufferers are simply left to their own devices.

Responsible doctors agree that quick fat fixes are rarely as effective as long-term programs that gradually change eating behavior. For this reason, American physicians offer medical help for weight gain only in extreme cases. France and Belgium are two countries where quick treatments are easily available and where, paradoxically, there is a much lower percentage of overweight people than in the United States. More than 25 per cent of the American population is overweight, according to the U.S. National Center for Health Statistics. This is compared with less than 10 per cent in France and Belgium.

In Belgium, a two-week, in-patient fasting program is prescribed virtually at the patient's request and fully reimbursed by the government's health plan. (Computing that a fortnight in a Belgian hospital costs approximately \$4,000 and

that patients lose an average of 10 kilos — 22 pounds — in that time, the government is estimated to pay about \$400 per kilo). In the belief that "it's much easier to take weight off earlier — when it's still just 10 or 15 pounds," The Brussels Endocrinologist Ann Owen says she'll send a patient who asks for it into a program "as soon as they're over their ideal body weight." But she warns them that the weight will probably come back quickly.

A typical prescription to take off excess weight includes diuretics, some form of thyroid hormone and amphetamines. These are easy to get and widely used in Belgium and France. Amphetamines are not only dangerous, risking extreme anxiety, insomnia and even paranoia, but can be life-threatening for patients who don't realize they're taking a powerful drug. In addition, stopping the prescription often produces a rebound effect leading to additional weight gain. In both countries, combination of these drugs is forbidden by the health authorities, yet there is no effective policing system for catching or punishing offenders. Many doctors are upset about the situation, especially those who treat the casualties.

In France, the health magazine *Vital* recently warned that this cocktail minceur or thins cocktail, is again on the upsurge. And thousands of Belgian women reportedly have prescriptions for the combination. According to one es-



Illustration: ART

Homeopathic medications are usually much less expensive than non-homeopathic drugs and are often reimbursed by national medical insurance. West Germans, who generally prefer "natural" substances, are especially likely to select homeopathic remedies for weight loss.

West Germans also have the legal right to fully-reimbursed thinning: a month-long *Kur* can be taken every three years as sick leave. Only about 10 per cent of the population takes advantage of this plan, however, because employees look unfavorably upon workers who do so regularly. Also, in truth, government-run *Kur* clinics are less enticing than fancy, private spas like Baden-Baden. Another disincentive is that Teutonic culture has traditionally deemed extra weight a sign of health, though that is changing.

Many of today's young German girls are becoming obsessed with thinness. As a result, there has been an increase in eating disorders, which include binges and weight-gain, for which the government reimburses weekly sessions of "talk therapy" with the family doctor.

In contrast to their European colleagues, American doctors offer no tangible aid to patients in need. Instead, they recommend what has been proven to work best: a slow, often disagreeable regimen of diet and exercise. "Anything very dramatic doesn't work because you need to change behavior,"

and vitamin D made no significant difference, the report said.

Diet Low in Protein Aids Failing Kidneys

Reuters

Research by an Australian group has confirmed that a diet low in protein can slow the development of kidney failure, according to a report in the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

In an 18-month study of 64 volunteers with kidney disease, 27 per cent of those who ate a regular diet developed complete kidney failure compared with only 6 per cent of those who ate a low-protein diet. The work confirms earlier studies, but the reason remains a mystery.

IN BRIEF

Research Finds Dogs Are Not Color Blind

The Associated Press

Dogs see the world as more colorful than black and white, but they cannot distinguish some colors such as yellow, green and orange, a new study concludes. Scientists at the University of California, Santa Barbara, aided by two greyhounds and a toy poodle, contradicted the belief that dogs are color-blind, according to a study in January's *Scientific American* and in the *Journal of Visual Neuroscience*.

The yearlong study — in which researchers trained the dogs to respond to colored lights on a display panel — found that dogs do distinguish colors, but showed that they

have limited color vision, similar to a condition in humans once known as "green blindness." Researchers said they went to elaborate lengths to make sure the dogs were not simply distinguishing between shades of gray.

Men Found to Suffer Bone Loss With Age

United Press International

Osteoporosis, the thinning of bones generally associated with women, appears to also affect men, increasing their chances of suffering bone fractures, researchers say.

A new study showed, for the first time, that males experience signifi-

cant bone loss as they age, researchers said. "Bone loss clearly occurs in men and it's a significant problem," said Dr. Eric Orwoll, associate professor of medicine at the Oregon Health Sciences University in Portland, who led the study. There have been numerous studies of the problem in women, but little is known about it in men.

In the new study, Dr. Orwoll's group followed 77 normal healthy men ages 30 to 87 for three years. In findings published in the *Annals of Internal Medicine*, the researchers said the men lost about 2 per cent of spinal bone and about 1 percent in the forearms each year, much less than lost by postmenopausal women, but greater than had been expected. Taking calcium

and vitamin D made no significant difference, the report said.

Cats: New Hope for the Dread

By Jon R. Luoma
New York Times Service

APPEL VALLEY, Minnesota — Almost weekly for nearly 10 years, Dr. Ulysses S. Seal has raised a long plastic pipe to his mouth and blown a tranquilizer dart into the flank of a caged Siberian tiger.

Minutes later, in a flurry of activity, Dr. Seal, a biochemist, and his assistants work on the prone and anesthetized tiger as part of a long-term study on the complexities of large-cat reproduction.

The research here at the Minnesota Zoological Gardens in a suburb of Minneapolis could lead to techniques that will increase biologists' options for breeding Siberian tigers, which are considered highly endangered, often being conducted by Dr. Seal and a growing group of researchers convinced that the survival of many endangered species will depend on the ability of humans to breed them successfully in captivity.

These scientists point to a series of successes or partial successes, including work with wolves, black-footed ferrets and the California condor in the United States, small mammals called golden lion tamarins in Brazil, and the Arabian oryx, an antelope that lives in the Arabian desert.

But many biologists and environmentalists say the potential of captive breeding is sharply restricted by limitations in available space, by relatively high costs and by human-induced ability to reintroduce zoo-raised animals to wild habitats.

Whitney Tilt, project director for the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation, a conservation organization, said: "The problem is if you look at captive breeding as an alternative to habitat protection, you might well want off the lights right now. The time when call captive breeding a success is not when you get your first baby born, but when you get your animals back into the wild."

Dr. Seal, chairman of the Captive Breeding Specialist Group of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, a scientific and environmental organization,

said he agreed that preserving wild habitats was a far more effective means of preserving endangered species. But he added, "Some animals are now in such deep trouble that we're going to have to have captive breeding programs for them if they're going to have any reasonable hope of surviving."

In their work with Siberian tigers, the largest of the world's cats, the researchers here typically take blood samples from an anesthetized animal weighing 300 pounds or more (140 kilograms and up). If the tiger is a male, semen may be extracted. If it is a female, eggs may be finished. Usually, researchers working with the tigers analyze sperm cells under a microscope to gauge their abundance and vigor, often mechanically separating seminal fluid in a centrifuge

For some animals, captive breeding is their only chance.

and replacing natural fluids with chemicals and nutrients known to improve sperm survival. Often sperm or fertilized eggs are frozen in tanks of liquid nitrogen for storage.

Advanced reproductive technologies, particularly insemination using frozen and thawed sperm, have been successfully practiced on cattle and other livestock for years. Although they would be a boon to captive breeders, solving the problem of shipping tigers or rhinos for mating, the technologies are now available for only a few wildlife species, largely because of the difficulties of understanding each species' hormonal and reproductive system.

Last July, with the help of Dr. Seal's research, scientists at the National Zoo in Washington succeeded for the first time in a "test tube" fertilization of Siberian tiger ova. Although the embryos did not develop to term, the researchers said they had overcome a hurdle in the attempt to perfect embryo transplantation techniques for the cats.

Proponents of captive breeding point to other species where they have had success.

With the help of consultants from the captive breeding group, state biologists in Wyoming have increased a captive population of black-footed ferrets from 17 in 1987 to 118. The ferrets, none of which are known to survive in the wild, now are split between breeding sites in Wyoming, Nebraska and Virginia. Plans are being made to reintroduce ferrets into the wild in 1991.

In 1988, U.S. officials began reintroducing small numbers of red wolves into national wildlife refuge lands in North Carolina, South Carolina and Louisiana. The red wolf had become extinct in the wild, and survived only in a few zoo collections. By the end of 1989, there were about 25 red wolves on refuges in the wild, about half of them wild-born pups, said Warren Parker, the federal red wolf recovery coordinator. As scientists expected, however, at least 12 have died.

In the late 1970s, biologists working in Oman began reintroducing the Arabian oryx, a cream-colored antelope that had vanished from its Arabian desert habitat but was preserved in breeding programs at the Phoenix and San Diego zoos. Today some 80 oryx survive in Oman, and another 90 in Jordan.

In 1984, officials of the National Zoo and the World Wildlife Fund began reintroducing golden lion tamarins into the Atlantic coast rain forest of Brazil, where only a few hundred of these brilliantly golden, squirrel-size monkeys survived. To date, more than 60 captive-bred tamarins have been introduced to the reserve. Some breeding with wild tamarins has occurred.

More than 100 animal species are now part of formal breeding programs conducted by associations of zoos in North America, Europe and Australia. These include the black rhinoceros, the snow leopard, orangutan, Asian elephant, Bali myna, Sumatran rhino and Puerto Rican toad.

Dr. Seal said the captive breeding group was developing more than 100 other programs and hoped to have 1,000 programs for vertebrates, including mammals, birds and reptiles, by the end of the 1990s. "We still feel that's less than half of the vertebrate species that will need captive propagation if they're going to survive," he said.

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 - 3 Tippler's trouble
 - 4 Factories, to Fill
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 - 6 Quip: Part I
 - 7 Portends
 - 8 Drags
 - 9 "High —" M.
 - 10 Anderson play
 - 11 Saharan
 - 12 Parry's pad
 - 13 Mayor of Palm Springs
 - 14 Crest

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 - 4 Grit
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 - 6 Change the text
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 - 9 Generates
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 - 19 Pickpocket
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Top Shearson Official Quits After Demotion

By Sarah Bartlett
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Jeffrey B. Lane, one of the top officials at Shearson Lehman Hutton Inc., has resigned from the firm he has worked for since 1969 to pursue business opportunities elsewhere.

Mr. Lane, who had been Shearson's president and chief operating officer and one of the closest associates of Chief Executive Peter A. Cohen, had his responsibilities sharply cut back in late November in a management shake-up. Mr. Lane was named president of a new business unit called the subsidiary activities group that included investment management, Boston Co. and public finance.

In an interview on Tuesday, Mr. Lane said that he had tried to "give it a real shot, to be enthusiastic, but I just wasn't able to do it."

While on vacation with his wife and five children over the holidays, the 47-year-old executive said that he decided that he would be happier trying something new. His resignation took effect last Friday.

Although Mr. Lane said he had not yet made any decision about what he would do next, he acknowledged that he had talked with other industry executives.

A Wall Street executive familiar

with the Shearson situation speculated that Mr. Lane might join Shearson's former chief executive, Sanford I. Weill, who is now at the helm of Primerica Corp. Mr. Lane declined to comment.

Insiders at the firm attributed Mr. Lane's setback last fall to large and unexpected losses at Boston Co., a Shearson subsidiary that reported to him, and growing criticism of a deal he helped orchestrate, the \$1 billion acquisition of E.F. Hutton.

While Mr. Lane accepted responsibility for his role in both situations, he said the criticism was unfair.

Reached at his home Tuesday evening, Mr. Cohen said he would have liked Mr. Lane to have stayed, and he disputed the notion that he had suffered any serious demotion.

"In terms of the changes in management responsibility, it wasn't different than those that occurred with other people," he said.

The two men acknowledged that the events of the last few months had strained their relationship. They have been close friends and colleagues for many years.

"I think it's fair to characterize this as a very difficult situation for both Peter and myself," Mr. Lane said.

Former Gerber Chairman Named Chief of Campbell

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

CAMDEN, New Jersey — David W. Johnson, chairman and chief executive officer of Gerber Products Co., has been selected as the new chief executive of the embattled Campbell Soup Co., Campbell announced Wednesday.

The move ends a succession search that lasted over a year. Campbell began searching for a new chief executive long before R. Gordon McGovern announced his early retirement in November. Mr. McGovern, 63, became president and chief executive in 1980. Mr. Johnson, 57, has a track record at beleaguered companies. He joined Gerber, based in Fremont, Michigan, as its chief executive officer in 1987 and has been credited with successfully pacifying Gerber family shareholders, who hold just over 10 percent of the company's stock. He also successfully reshaped the company after several years of declining earnings and takeover rumors.

Gerber said that Alfred A. Pergallini would take on Mr. Johnson's posts in addition to his own current jobs as Gerber's president and chief operating officer.

His appointment comes amid growing dissent among members of Campbell's founding family, who control about 59 percent of the company's 129.6 million outstanding common shares. (Reuters, AP)

Knight's Role at Murdoch

New York Times Service

LONDON — Andrew Knight, named to head the British portion of Rupert Murdoch's publishing and television empire, has spent the past four years running the money-losing Sunday and Daily Telegraph newspapers into solid money-makers.

Mr. Knight, 50, will become executive chairman and chief executive of News International PLC, the British subsidiary of News Corp., effective in March.

In succeeding Mr. Murdoch, Mr. Knight will manage News International's publishing operations.

Hanoi Calls State Firms Inefficient

The Associated Press

BANGKOK — Vietnam's state-owned enterprises displayed increasing inefficiency in 1989 after losing their subsidies and being forced to compete in a free market.

The report, dated Tuesday, said 1989 was "a year of crisis" for these enterprises.

The report said that the state-owned enterprises had been allowed to operate in the past three years.

The state sector "showed visible signs of decline" due to its cumbersome and inefficient management and outdated technology.

The report said that the state-owned enterprises had been forced to compete in a free market.

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NYSE

Wednesday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trading elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

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SPORTS

VANTAGE POINT

Who's No. 1? Try a Sudden-Death Spelling Bee

By Thomas Boswell
Washington Post Service

WHENEVER I get just a little too proud of being an American, I watch college football on New Year's Day. Who's No. 1, indeed? What a choice.

The University of Miami, where the real triple option is brag, boast or just act bush.

Or Notre Dame, where a mural of Christ is known as Touchdown Jesus and a bronze sculpture of Moses with a finger upraised is called "We're No. 1."

Or Colorado, where the memory of a dead teammate is honored by players shaving the name "Sal" on the backs of their heads.

United Press International and The Associated Press say Miami is No. 1.

Instead, why not give the title to the team with the most players who can spell "Miami" correctly? In case of a tie, let them spell the name of their school. Sure, Miami would have a three-letter edge on Colorado, but that's a fair handicap.

Notre Dame would be favored.

The Fighting Irish play the toughest schedule; theirs includes "classroom."

All in all, the new college football decade began with a solid selection of the usual bowl suspects. Bo Schmechel got to lose one final Rose Bowl for old times' sake. And he did it in proper style — throwing his play sheet, tripping over his headphones and blaming the defeat on some innocent official who will now be infamous. Bo said it was "ironic." Try "perfect."

As a retirement present, maybe the 82d Airborne, on its way back from Panama, could surround Bo's house with boom boxes and play Twisted Sister around the clock.

Everybody has his favorite moment from a New Year's Day football bowl. I really enjoyed the Orange Bowl last year when Paul Williams and Chubby Checker doing the self-respect limbo. "How low can you go?"

Also a New Year's delight was the sight of Alabama's coach, Bill Curry, struggling to save his job in the Sugar Bowl. If Crimson Tide fans get what they deserve, Curry will dump them and leave behind

the death threats, hate mail and anonymous phone calls that have plagued him in Tuscaloosa.

Despite such stiff competition, the nod here for best moment of a decade would go to Notre Dame's selection of team captains. The Irish sent out the whole team for the coin flip. So, Colorado's whole team came out, too, and started wooing and finger-wagging. (Was I the only person yelling "Fight!" at my television?)

You see, all these tunnel brawls aren't really the fault of the Notre Dame coach, Lou Holtz, and his "Fighting" Irish. They never do anything provocative. They'd never goad a foe by, say, sending out 100 team captains to try to intimidate the other guys.

If the Irish and the Buffaloes had rumbled right at midfield — things

were warming up nicely before a cordon of referees separated the scholarship lads — would Holtz have kept his promise and resigned as coach?

Personally, I'm glad Miami gets the distinction of being the college football team of the '80s. Considering the state of their sport, they make a worthy standard bearer.

And would he have done it before or after the game?

To top off the whole day, Miami ended up winning a national title it may not have deserved.

The Hurricanes played a soft schedule this year, with only four foes good enough to reach one of the holiday season's 713 bowl classics. Their "big" wins, other than the victory over the Irish on Nov. 25, Michigan State and Pitt.

Notre Dame played the toughest schedule in the nation and one of the most brutal in a generation. It faced nine bowl-bound teams while carrying the burden of a No. 1 ranking, a 23-game winning streak

and the crown of defending national champion. The Irish beat the cream: Michigan, Southern California, Colorado.

However, in one game, Notre Dame flopped — on the road in Miami the week after an emotional victory over Penn State. Talk about extenuating circumstances.

Since the Irish finished 12-1 and the Hurricanes were 11-1, since they both won their bowl game and since Miami won a head-to-head meeting, 27-10, it's an unwritten law that Miami is No. 1.

But nobody has to like it. An ABC-TV call-in poll showed Notre Dame in front for No. 1 by 55 percent to 26 percent. Surprisingly, 19 of 60 sportswriters in the AP poll actually broke with tradition and voted for Notre Dame as No. 1. That's a slap at Miami. Normally, if two schools played remotely comparable schedules, the vote would have been about 50-50 for Miami.

Personally, I'm glad the Hurricanes get the distinction of being the college football team of the '80s. Considering the state of their sport, they make a worthy standard bearer.

Not No. 1: January's Giant

By Ken Denlinger
Washington Post Service

AS SEEMS to happen frequently, college football's best team in January is Florida State. But because they took most of September off, the Seminoles are second in Florida this season — and also in the United Press International coaches' poll. Make Miami No. 1.

If Lou Holtz wants to give Notre Dame some sort of we're-the-best rings, as Joe Paterno once did at Penn State, fine with me. Same with Colorado, which still might be better than Notre Dame. If Bo Schmechel hadn't gotten brainlocked twice on Sept. 16, by kicking off to Raghib "Rocket" Ismail, Michigan would have beaten Notre Dame that day.

Thanks one final time to Bo, the Sam Sneed of college football, for showing us how perilously steep the climb to No. 1 really is. Sneed helped verify the U.S. Open as the toughest tournament in golf by never winning it.

Schemmel, in 21 tries at Michigan, never lucked into a national title or captured one out-

right; the new fellow at Miami, Dennis Erickson, won both major polls in his first realistic chance.

Because of bafflement lowlighted by Eric Bieniemy dropping the

Florida State had the fourth-toughest schedule in the NCAA, the opposition, including six bowl teams, mustering a combined winning percentage of .611.

ball 19 yards before completing an unimpeded run to the end zone, Colorado joined several Eastern European countries in ensuring that a forthcoming election would not be over before it began.

If Colorado had beaten Notre Dame and remained the only unbeaten team in big-time football, Tuesday's news agency polls would have been a reaffirmation rather than a dramatic vote.

Holtz went campaigning moments after the Irish scored a 21-6 victory, and it was a treat to behold. He was focused and forceful, stern in a way that caused his audience of reporters to realize why his players snap to attention.

Rattled off without much of a pause and delivered in a voice that seemed to grow ever louder and deeper, he said: "We have the best record [12-1] and the toughest schedule. ... We played nine bowl teams and beat No. 1 by 15 points. ... If you want to talk about the best team Nov. 25th (when Miami beat Notre Dame) maybe Florida State was. ... Golly, Ned. If you have the best record and the toughest schedule, case rests."

Fact is, the second-most difficult regular-season schedule, Louisiana State's, was significantly easier than Notre Dame's. The Irish played nine bowl teams with a combined record of 85-38-4 and beat eight of them (Virginia, Michigan, State, Air Force, Southern Cal, Pitt, Penn State and Colorado).

How was Miami's schedule? Decent, according to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, but 29th overall. The Hurricanes played five bowl teams (Michigan State, Pitt, Notre Dame, Florida State and Alabama) and beat all but the Seminoles.

Florida State had the fourth-toughest schedule, the opposition mustering a combined winning percentage of .611 and including six bowl teams (Syracuse, Clemson, Auburn, Miami, Florida and Nebraska). Its two losses were the opening games, against Southern Mississippi and Clemson.

If September is so terrible for Florida State, maybe next season it should push one of those games into October, the other into November. Play one in the afternoon and the other at night.

Strength of schedule might have been an overriding argument if Miami and Notre Dame had not met late in the season, when teams are supposed to be at their peak. And if the Hurricanes had not won so convincingly, 27-10.

Holtz correctly mentioned that against Miami, Notre Dame was coming off an emotional game, a 34-23 victory over Penn State (after beating lightweight Navy and Southern Methodist).

Also, the Irish had more than their share of injuries and controversy. If they had not opted for a mountain of money in the Aug. 31 Kickoff Classic against Virginia, the Irish might have been fresher down the regular-season stretch.

Notre Dame's experience might help explain why Penn State chose to run to the Big Ten Conference. Being independent is not as easy and glamorous as it seems. If it does not play a demanding schedule, an independent sometimes is undervalued; few mind if a Nebraska or Michigan beats eight donkeys while winning a conference championship.

Both the Irish and Miami have lots to strut about. Notre Dame won 22 of 23 games the last two seasons; the Hurricanes became the second team ever to finish one or two in the polls four straight years. (Notre Dame, from 1946 through 1949, was the other.)

Probably because Holtz did not arrive at Notre Dame until 1985, Miami was the clear winner as the team of the 1980s. This was the sixth time in the decade that the Hurricanes entered a bowl game with a chance to win the national title.

And Colorado? The surprise team of 1989 had only 14 seniors, although 10 of them started. The quarterback, Darian Hagan, was a sophomore; the usually brilliant Bieniemy was a junior.

The sad irony for Colorado is that only one team, North Carolina, had fewer than its 13 turn-overs during the regular season. But number 14, Bieniemy, was one of the most memorable in bowl history.

The Holtz Gimmick: What's One Game?

By George Vecsey
New York Times Service

LOU HOLTZ, who had a golf appointment later in the day, sounded very much the golfer devoting some exotic handicap system as he tried to justify why Notre Dame should be ranked the top college team in the country, instead of Miami, which is.

Under the Holtz system, the decider in the two polls should totally disregard one of Notre Dame's outings of this now-terminated season.

This new method of ranking the college teams could be called a "Louie," like the "best-ball" gimmick in a golf foursome, or the "do-over" we used to claim in sandlot baseball, or what we used to call a "hindoo" when the ball hit a nasty crack.

Under the terms of the "Louie," the coaches and the writers who decided on Miami in The Associated Press and United Press International polls Tuesday could have ignored Notre Dame's 27-10 pasting by Miami back on Nov. 25.

There is precedence for trying to minimize one gruesome event at an inauspicious moment. During the 1962 World Series, the New York Yankees' manager, Ralph Houk, was asked about the grand-slam home run that Marshall Bridges had served up to Chuck Hiller of the San Francisco Giants.

After chomping on his cigar for a bit, Houk said, "He only made one bad pitch." And Notre Dame only played one bad game.

Why, without that brief and forgettable episode, Notre Dame fans could be strutting around today chanting "We're No. 1!" and wearing their "Catholics vs. Convicts" T-shirts.

Instead, Miami returns from the Sugar Bowl with its 33-25 victory Monday night over Alabama and its third unofficial national title of

the decade, according to the two news agency polls plus The New York Times computer rankings, which had Miami as the best team even before the final weekend.

Notre Dame did all it could with a convincing 21-6 victory over previously unbeaten Colorado on Monday night in the Orange Bowl. There is not an unbeaten team in the land, but Miami is the champ.

If nothing else, the victory confirmed Holtz as a soothsayer. On Thursday he was overheard telling his "living a lie" all year, that Colorado was not as good as advertised and that Colorado would "start grabbing" by the third period.

master-encyclopediasalesman of a coach didn't think Colorado could sustain anything against his troops, and he cautioned them to be patient. He turned out to be absolutely correct.

Long before the predicted third quarter, Colorado showed its impotence by fumbling in the open, shanking a field-goal attempt and then botching a faked field-goal play.

Holtz's speech, captured legally by a camera crew, was nothing more than the realistic, unspiced, unadorned we'd like to think college coaches give their players, as opposed to the unctuous self-doubts they unload on us and me.

The wispy little door-to-door

The intended receiver on the fake play, Chad Brown, said later that the Notre Dame defense, Devon McDonald, had grabbed his jersey at both shoulder pads and slung him to the ground. The brute.

After his team was whipped all over the Orange Bowl, Colorado's coach, Bill McCartney, never once tried to insult collective intelligence with a scenario in which his team would be rated No. 1.

And he bluntly said the team that had whipped him was not No. 1, either.

"If Notre Dame and Miami hadn't played, you could certainly make a case for Notre Dame," said McCartney, a Notre Dame fan as a youngster. "But when two teams play during the season, the head-to-head result is what counts. I don't know any other way to do it."

Neither does anybody else, although Holtz gave it his best shot.

"We have the best record and we played the best schedule," Holtz said Tuesday morning. "Unless you want to say, 'What about Nov. 25?'"

All right, what about Nov. 25?

"We came off an emotional game against Penn State," Holtz said. "We played nine bowl games. If you want to talk about one game, what about Oct. 28?"

He was talking about Miami's

24-10 loss to Florida State way back when. Florida State just might be the best team in the country since two early losses.

But two is too much. Miami, which plays a crapshoot schedule partially by choice, beat Notre Dame in November and beat Alabama in January. Timing is everything.

"I believe in my heart that we



Miami's unrelated Ericksons: Coach Dennis, right, and QB Craig.

had the toughest schedule," Holtz added. "Case rests."

And Tuesday the dual juries delivered their opinions. Miami. Once again, the nation did not need any national playoff game. The bowl system still ain't broke.

But what about this golf gimmick? How about next year allowing every college team to throw out one opposing touchdown?

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"I believe in my heart that we

Documentary Casts Doubt on Effects of Steroids

The Associated Press

LONDON — Al Oerter says steroids are all in the mind.

According to a British Broadcasting Corp. television program screened Wednesday, he may be right.

The BBC documentary says anabolic steroids may have a greater effect on the mind than on the body of athletes trying to improve their performances.

"QED: The Steroid Myth" presents evidence from the United States, Britain and Italy challenging the view that the physical effects alone of steroids can turn good athletes into world champions.

"The idea that steroids enhance performance may be another damaging myth," the program concludes.

Oerter supports that theory.

The four-time Olympic discus champion from the United States said that when he made a comeback at age 40 in 1976, he was given a steroid prescription to help him over an injury.

Because he had high blood pressure, the program lasted just two months during which time, Oerter said, there was no noticeable improvement in his performance.

Yet seven years later and "clean" of drugs, he had one of the best throws of his career, 237 feet (72 meters).

"It's not the stuff you are shooting into your system," Oerter says in the BBC program. "It's all mental."



The BBC-TV show came to no conclusion on whether Ben Johnson could have won the Olympic 100-meter race in Seoul without using steroids.

The program left a number of key questions unanswered, including whether Canada's Ben Johnson could have won the 100-meter dash

in the Seoul Olympics without being on steroids.

Johnson, stripped of his Olympic gold medal and a world record after testing positive for steroids, later testified he had been on a steroid program since 1981.

Whether the Canadian would have triumphed without the help of steroids "is something we may never know for sure," the program says.

During a press briefing Tuesday, the program's producer, Chris Than, said the muscle-building powers attributed to steroids could help certain athletes at certain times.

He said the 30-minute program, which took 1 1/2 years to make, tries to show that the mental impact of taking steroids was equally effective.

"It was not my brief to appraise it from a moral standpoint," said Than, a former Romanian hammer thrower. "But there is reason to believe that what is gained in strength is not necessarily matched by power."

"I know how compulsive the winning urge can be. But what interested me is what actually happened to people on steroids. It's not like taking a pill. Everything has to be right."

The program cites an experiment at the University of New Mexico where, for nine weeks, a group of male athletes underwent tests. All were injected with a variety of treatments, including steroids and placebos — substances that have

no medical effect and are used merely as a testing device.

Neither the athletes nor the experts knew who was taking what; at any given time, the program said.

According to the university's Dr. Douglas Crist, there was "no statistically significant change in body fat (and) no statistically significant change in muscular power."

Nevertheless, the athletes reported that they felt stronger.

The conclusion, Crist said, was that, while body composition appeared to be unchanged, "the perception athletes derived from the treatment... made them feel stronger."

David Jenkins, a San Diego-based Briton who was convicted a year ago of drug smuggling and sentenced to seven years in prison, said he took steroids because he was obsessed with taking part in the 1976 Montreal Olympics but that they did not improve his performance.

The former European 400-meter champion, rated No. 1 in the world in 1975, was interviewed in custody at Borom prison camp near Barrow, California.

Jenkins described taking drugs as "a crutch to counteract my self-doubts." He gained weight, lost speed and finished seventh in Montreal, a performance his coach at the time, American Olympic hurdler David Hemery, attributed to lack of confidence.

"He failed while on drugs because his mind stopped him," Hemery said. "Drugs themselves do not make champions."

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
New York	20	8	.714
Philadelphia	17	11	.607
Washington	17	11	.607
New Jersey	15	13	.538
Atlanta	14	14	.500
Charlotte	13	15	.464
Orlando	11	17	.393
Indiana	10	18	.357
Chicago	9	19	.321
San Antonio	8	20	.286
Phoenix	7	21	.250
Utah	6	22	.214
Dallas	5	23	.182
San Diego	4	24	.143
Los Angeles	3	25	.111
Golden State	2	26	.077
Sacramento	1	27	.037

WESTERN CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Portland	18	10	.643
Seattle	17	11	.607
Denver	16	12	.571
Phoenix	15	13	.538
San Antonio	14	14	.500
Los Angeles	13	15	.464
Golden State	12	16	.430
Utah	11	17	.393
San Diego	10	18	.357
Portland	9	19	.321
Seattle	8	20	.286
Denver	7	21	.250
Phoenix	6	22	.214
San Antonio	5	23	.182
Los Angeles	4	24	.143
Golden State	3	25	.111
Utah	2	26	.077
San Diego	1	27	.037

TUESDAY'S RESULTS			
Team	Score	Team	Score
New York	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Philadelphia	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Washington	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
New Jersey	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Atlanta	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Charlotte	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Orlando	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Indiana	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Chicago	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
San Antonio	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Phoenix	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Utah	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Dallas	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
San Diego	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Los Angeles	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Golden State	101-94	San Antonio	98-90
Sacramento	101-94	San Antonio	98-90

HOCKEY

NHL Leaders

Team	W	L	T	Pts
New York	18	10	4	40
Philadelphia	17	11	4	38
Washington	16	12	4	36
New Jersey	15	13	4	34
Atlanta	14	14	4	32
Charlotte	13	15	4	30
Orlando	12	16	4	28
Indiana	11	17	4	26
Chicago	10	18	4	24
San Antonio	9	19	4	22
Phoenix	8	20	4	20
Utah	7	21	4	18
Dallas	6	22	4	16
San Diego	5	23	4	14
Los Angeles	4	24	4	12
Golden State	3	25	4	10
Sacramento	2	26	4	8

TUESDAY'S RESULTS			
Team	Score	Team	Score
New York	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Philadelphia	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Washington	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
New Jersey	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Atlanta	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Charlotte	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Orlando	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Indiana	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Chicago	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
San Antonio	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Phoenix	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Utah	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Dallas	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
San Diego	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Los Angeles	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Golden State	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Sacramento	4-2	San Antonio	3-1

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Golden State	4-2	San Antonio	3-1
Sacramento	4-2	San Antonio	3-1

BASKETBALL
National Basketball Association
CLEVELAND—Pui Wayne "Tree" Rollins, center, on injured list. Activated John Morton, guard, from injured list.
ORLANDO—Activated Marion Wiley, guard, on injured list. Put Jerry Reynolds, guard, on injured list.
PHILADELPHIA—Signed Carey Gaines, guard, to 18-day contract.

HOCKEY
National Hockey League
ATLANTA (AP)—Preston West, defenseman,

